SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

6th Year – October 30, 1972

No 171

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

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Statement of the DRVN Government on

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO THE VIET NAM PROBLEM

Following is the full text of the Statement issued on October 26, 1972 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the present state of the negotiations relating to the Viet Nam problem:

FOLLOWING years of glorious resistance war of our armed forces and people in both zones, the United States had to stop in Oct. 1968 the bombardments against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and accept the holding of a four-party Conference on Viet Nam in Paris. That situation opened up prospects for restoring peace in Viet Nam.

The Nixon administration chose, however, to embark on the path of "Vietnamization of the war," and negotiation from a position of strength. As a result, the US war of aggression in Viet Nam dragged on, was intensified and expanded, and the Viet Nam peace negotiations could not make any progress.

Over the past four years, the valiant and undaunted Vietnamese people have stepped up their just struggle on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, and have recorded unprecedented victories, especially since spring 1972, thus inflicting a very important setback on the "Vietnamization" policy.

At the same time, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has constantly shown its serious attitude and goodwill in the search for a peaceful solution to the Viet Nam problem on a basis guaranteeing the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

In full agreement with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has held private meetings with the US Government with a view to a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem. But till Sept. 1972, the negotiations on the Viet Nam problem had remained without result.

With a view to making the negotiations progress, at the private meeting on Oct. 8, 1972, the DRVN side took a new, extremely important initiative: it put forward a draft "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam," and proposed that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and the Government of the United States of America with the concurrence of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, immediately agreed upon and signed this Agreement to rapidly restore peace in Viet Nam. In that draft Agreement, the DRVN side proposed a cessation of the war throughout Viet Nam, a cease-fire in South Viet Nam, and an end to all US military involvement in Viet Nam, a total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of troops of the United States and those of the foreign countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Viet Nam, and the return of all captured and detained personnel of the parties. From the enforcement of the cease-fire to the installation of the government formed after free and democratic general elections, the two present administrations in South Viet Nam will remain in existence with their respective domestic and external functions. These two administrations shall immediately hold consultations with a view to the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, achieving national concord, ensuring the democratic liberties of the South Vietnamese people, and forming an administration of national concord which shall have the task of promoting the South Vietnamese parties' implementation of the signed agreements and organizing general elections in South Viet Nam. The two South Vietnamese parties shall settle together the internal matters of South Viet Nam within three months after the cease-fire comes into effect. Thus the Viet Nam problem will be settled in two stages in accordance with the oft-expressed desire of the American side: the first stage will include a cessation of the war in Viet Nam, a cease-fire in South Viet Nam, a cessation of the US military involvement in South Viet Nam and an agreement on the principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; in the second stage, the two South Vietnamese parties will settle together the internal matters of South Viet Nam. The DRVN side proposed that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States sign this Agreement by Mid-October, 1972.

The above initiative of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam brought the negotiations on the Viet Nam problem, which had dragged on for four years now, onto the path to a settlement. The American side itself admitted that the draft "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam" put forward by the DRVN side was indeed an important and very fundamental document which opened up the way to an early settlement.

After several days of negotiations, on Oct. 17, 1972, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States reached agreement on almost all problems on the basis of the draft Agreement of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, except for only two unagreed issues. With its goodwill, the DRVN side did its utmost to remove the last obstacles in accepting the American side's proposals on the two remaining questions in the Agreement. In his Oct. 20, 1972 message to the Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the President of the United States appreciated the goodwill of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and confirmed that the formulation of the Agreement could be considered complete. But in the same message, he raised a number of complex points. Desirous of rapidly

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in the shadow of the american embassy in Saigon

(Continued)

12.—Inside the Dragon's Head Palace

The *Khaki Party* had no officially proclaimed leader. But the Saigonese know very well who is at the top. In fact they know all about his past and present. Bunker has been warmly praised by Nixon for the acumen he displayed when he put that man in the Dragon's Head Palace.

When in late 1963, Ngo Dinh Diem was made way with at CIA instigation, the Americans found themselves in a quandary. Coup followed coup at such a tempo that, as said an English newspaper, "no one knows on waking up each morning what government has come to power." It was then that Bunker made his judicious choice of a man worthy of the confidence of the "free world." He was the "statesman" Nguyen Van Thieu. Of course there were a few snags. For instance the fact that Thieu had been staff sergeant in the French colonial army. It was rather awkward to put an understrapper of the French colonialists at the top of the government of an "independent nation." But Thieu knew how to make up for his shortcomings.

Before becoming the bellwether of the *Khaki Party* Thieu had fed on corn from every bin. He had been a member of the Dai Viet Party, then had joined the Labour and Personalism Party of Ngo Dinh Nhu, and called himself a Buddhist before becoming a fervent Catholic, in order to please the then President Diem as well as his own Catholic wife. A complete and succinct description of Nguyen Van Thieu could be found in this conversation he might have with an imaginary interlocutor: "Are you a Dai Viet?"—"Sure."; "And a member of the Labour and Personalism Party as well?" — "Of course."; "A follower of Ngo Dinh Diem?" — "Yes."; "Didn't you oppose Diem?" — "Why shouldn't I?"; "Are you a Catholic?" — "You bet."; "And a Buddhist too?" — "Correct." And so on and so forth...

Saigon politicians have dubbed Thieu "The Master Turncoat," for his skill in forsaking the French for the Americans, Diem for Minh, Minh for Khanh, etc. and in taking care of number one. Once he made common cause with Lam Tan Phat and Duong Ngoc Lam but left them in the lurch when the going got tough. The deputy Ngo Cong Duc calls him the "Six-faced Die."

Thieu has just turned 49. News leaked out from the "Dragon's Head Palace" said that as preparations were under way for a tremendous birthday party for the "President," everything was spoilt by the gloomy reports from Highway 9 where all the strong points built by the Saigon army had collapsed. And so, when the festivities were held on the night of April 5, 1972, to mark the entry of the "President" into the 50th year of his life full of intrigues and plots, the whisky drunk for the toasts tasted like gall and wormwood. And no wonder, said a soothsayer with a political turn of mind living on Confucius Road, for this year will prove to be one of hoodoo for the "President."

Thieu attracted the Americans' attention as early as the days when he was attending military training courses at Fort Leavenworth in the USA. He was interviewed by General Taylor personally. Ever since then he has tried hard to groom himself for a career as a "statesman." For instance, he avoids drinking and revelling in public. But his political machinations are far from innocent.

What Nixon and his proconsul Bunker have been seeking has been a Diem government without Diem, a Diem line without Diem. There are many pointers. The role played by Tran Kim Tuyen for instance.

After Diem and his brother Nhu met their death in an American-made armoured car, people say that their evil spirits jointly appeared in human form in the person of their former aide Tran Kim Tuyen. Tuyen had built and controlled the whole network of secret agents of the Ngo dynasty and was notorious for his machiavellian schemes. In late 1967, after his entry into the "Dragon's Head Palace," Thieu got Tuyen out of prison and had him installed in a luxurious villa linked to the Presidential office by a direct telephone line. Tuyen thus became a major, albeit hidden, Presidential adviser. People see his hand in such murky affairs as the murder of Professor Nguyen Van Bong and the ouster of such right-hand men of Nguyen Cao Ky as Le Nguyen Khang, governor of Saigon, and Linh Quang Vien, Minister of the Interior, at a time when Ky himself, as Vice-President, was having his office in the same palace as Thieu. More recently, when Ky and Big Minh were prevented from competing with Thieu in the one-man "presidential" race — that brazen act of dictatorship in the midst of a show of "democracy" — the credit for that cunning scheme also went partly to Tran Kim Tuyen.

Thieu lives in the "Independence Palace," also dubbed by the Saigonese "Dragon's Head Palace," protected by stringent security measures. The iron fence which had been partly knocked down in the Spring of 1968 has been replaced and reinforced. Two heavy M.48 tanks stand by in a corner of the grounds in the shade of mango trees, as well as three grey-painted HU.1 helicopters further to the left. In the backyard, two M.113 armoured personnel carriers point their heavy machine guns outward. Both vehicles and pedestrians are banned from Huyen Tran street, which runs along the back side of the palace. The nearby Ong Thuong stadium and Tao Dan park have been turned into a huge camp, where 200 paratroopers in camouflaged uniform and armed with quick-firing M.16 submachineguns have pitched tents, together with clusters of jeeps and military lorries. Policemen, clad in white in the daytime and olive drab at night, patrol the surrounding streets. They are armed cap-a-pie and number at least two battalions, for surveillance over an area of less than one square kilometre. Behind each tree, lurk two or three uniformed policemen. As for the plainclothes men, their number is difficult to ascertain.

Quite memorable were the security measures taken at Thieu's inauguration on October 31, 1971. In front of the "Independence Palace," along Thong Nhut boulevard stood no less than 42,000 troops and police under the direct command of Brigadier Cao Hao Hon, assistant to the Interior Minister. They were there to ensure safety for the less than 10,000 people who attended the ceremony: high-ranking functionaries, foreign guests and American officials. As for the 3.5 million Saigonese, they were ordered to stay behind close doors, the best way for them to celebrate the investiture of the man whom Nixon had just praised as "one of the major leaders in Asia."

After crossing the lawn and the flower-beds, where "Longevity" chrysanthemums are grown, we enter the main hall. Behind immense doors of polished wood is the ceremonial room where big receptions are usually held, attended by such pillars of the regime as Ambassador Bunker, Generals Abrams and Weyand, the director of USAID, Saigon generals with their bejewelled spouses and senior officers of "allied" armies: South Korea, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, Thailand... sporting Saigon medals awarded them for their "exploits" in massacring South Vietnamese civilians. In short, the cream of Saigonese society, viewed from the angle of Thieu and Co. But intelligent and honest people hold quite different views. A Saigon lawyer, for instance, has called the habitués of such gatherings "a refuse heap that the people will sweep away."

At the far end of the ceremonial room stand a pair of elephant tusks in a glasscase. Next to it is a door of polished wood which leads into Thieu's office. The floor is covered by a red carpet. Thieu sits behind an immense desk of bulky shape, in an armchair upholstered in flowered silk, with a cushion to support his aching back. Here Thieu discusses "State affairs" with his close advisers. Topping the list is Hoang Duc Nha, his press secretary and number-one counsellor. Others are Nguyen Phu Duc, his mentor on foreign affairs, Dang Van Quang, security adviser, and Nguyen Ngoc Linh, former director of *Viet Tan Xa*, the Saigon official news agency, now a millionaire whose wily schemes are greatly appreciated. Thieu's son-in-law, Trang Si Tan, has recently been admitted to those meetings, where the most notorious frame-ups of the "Second Republic" have been thought out. They have resulted in the arrests of Tran Ngoc Chau, secretary general of the Lower House; Truong Dinh Dzu, Thieu's runner-up in the presidential race of 1967; Au Truong Thanh; and the bonze Thich Thien Minh, later sentenced to ten years of hard labour and five of solitary confinement...all for thier anti-war attitudes. Also in this room have been devised such cunning schemes as the law which compelled all presidential candidates to produce evidence of support by at least 40 members of the "National Assembly" or 100 members of provincial councils — a hurdle which tripped Nguyen Cao Ky even before the race began. Ky was so embittered that even now, in his Nha Trang retreat, he often clenches his teeth in the midst of a tennis game and gives the ball a whacking blow accompanied by a curse addressed to that "s.o.b. Thieu!"

Other decisions, adopted on direct instructions from the Americans, are taken in another room, on the second floor of the left wing. It is a big drawing-room with furniture upholstered in purple velvet and light-yellow carpeting. Every time he comes, Bunker would stalk straight down the corridor, up the stairs and into the room, followed by his host, who walks with a bad limp due to sciatica. Hoang Duc Nha alone is allowed to be present at such meetings.

Political circles in Saigon have been wondering whether Hoang Duc Nha is the man of Thieu, or Bunker, or both. While Thieu puts up a show of filial respect for Bunker, he is often annoyed at the latter's peevishness. Thieu is Hoang Duc Nha's maternal uncle. Nha received thorough training in the United States from the age of 25 to 28 (he is now 32) at Stanford and Pittsburgh universities, majoring in history and economics. A taciturn man with eyes hidden behind thick lenses, he is a reputedly ambitious and wily politician. He and Thieu completely agree on this guideline for action: The end justifies the means. This highly practical motto perfectly suits the taste of the Americans, but contributes to the accusation brought against Thieu by his political opponents, who consider him a treacherous and unscrupulous individual. "After shaking hands with Thieu," they say, "you'd better make sure you still have all your fingers left."

Even now Thieu's participation in the November 1963 coup, which overthrew Ngo Dinh Diem, remains a complete mystery. It is true that at dawn on November 2, 1963, two battalions of the 5th Infantry Division under Thieu's command did launch an assault on the "Independence Palace," but by that time Diem and his brother Nhu had escaped to Cho Lon. At 7 in the morning, when Big Minh made a triumphant entry into the palace grounds, on the spur of the moment he hugged Thieu and pinned two stars on the collar of his uniform. Thieu thus became the only Saigon colonel ever promoted major-general without passing through the rank of brigadier. However, officers of the 5th ID gave another version of what had happened. When Thieu ordered his troops to move to Saigon from Bien Hoa on the afternoon of November 1, according to these officers, he had told them: "Duong Van Minh has staged a rebellion. We must come to Saigon to save the President (*i.e. Diem*)."

Recently, on the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the death of Diem and Nhu (November 1, 1971), Thieu himself gave this account: "On the morning of November 2, when I opened the door of that M.113 armoured personnel carrier and saw the bodies of His Excellencies Diem and Nhu lying in a pool of blood, I stood at attention, took off my cap, and shed tears of sorrow." Could it be that for once he was telling the truth? If so, he had switched his loyalty from Diem to the putschists only when the former's fate appeared to be sealed.

In December 1964, barely a year later, he received his third star from the hands of Nguyen Khanh as a reward for his betrayal of Duong Van Minh. But just at the time when he was fawning upon Nguyen Khanh, he was already plotting with General Lam Van Phat and his friends Duc, Ton and Thao to overthrow his boss. When the scheme was discovered, Thieu quickly disengaged himself. In answer to Phat's revelation about his participation in the conspiracy, Thieu flatly said that it was only a ruse which had allowed him to penetrate the dark designs of the "rebels." He even became a member of the court-matial which sent his former "comrades" to face the firing squad.

(To be continued)

THANH NAM

denounced US-Thieu scheme to liquidate prisoners and detained patriots

The Committee to Denounce US-puppets' War Crimes in South Viet Nam has issued a special communiqué on the US-Thieu clique's schemes and acts relating to the intensified killing and liquidation of prisoners and patriots illegally detained in South Viet Nam's prisons.

The communiqué, made public on September 18, 1972 said :

"ALARMED by the South Vietnamese army and people's ever more impetuous offensives and uprisings, over the last period, alongside the intensified use of B.52's and ordnance to wipe out populous areas adjoining Saigon and other towns and townships, and the stepping-up of fascist measures in "Phoenix" operations to arrest, torture, imprison and deport tens of thousands of people in regions under their temporary control, the Nixon administration and its Nguyen Van Thieu stooge clique have feverishly carried out their long existing schemes and "national policy" which consists in intensifying the killing and liquidation, through all cruel methods, of our combatants and patriots illegally arrested, tortured and detained by them.

In distress, the Nixon-Nguyen Van Thieu clique have just worked out an extremely vicious program whose implementation has been urgently entrusted to their wicked thugs in a bid to keep a tighter hold of, liquidate and massacre, the prisoners and patriots detained in over 1,000 penitentiaries all over South Viet Nam. It is specified in this program that, to avoid difficulties in case of an eventual forced delivery of prisoners, in regard to those whom they do not succeed in "redressing" and gaining over "appropriate and easy measures" are recommended.

Everybody knows that the US-Thieu clique's "appropriate and easy measures" mean shooting, secret disposal, massacre, poisoning, etc. which they have long since applied and, under the current circumstance, have further stepped up against the prisoners and peace-loving patriots illegally detained by them.

In starting this program, the US-Thieu regime in recent days have piled up fresh bloody and dastardly crimes against our combatants and patriots under their detention...

Of late, on Oct. 11, 1972, the US-puppets shot dead and wounded dozens of patriots detained in the Phu Quoc penitentiary. To cover up this folly, they concocted the slanderous report that "prisoners had snatched guns away from guards and fled as they were sent to fetch firewood."

Under this arch-devilish program of the Nixon-Nguyen Van Thieu clique, the fate of hundreds of thousands of combatants and patriots illegally detained in over 1,000 US-Saigon prisons and detention camps in South Viet Nam is being seriously endangered...

The Committee to Denounce the US-puppets' War Crimes in South Viet Nam vehemently denounces to the entire people in the country, to the peoples and public opinion the world over the above-cited perfidious schemes and bloody crimes of the Nixon-Nguyen Van Thieu clique against the prisoners and patriots illegally detained by them. Their cruel plan and measures designed to intensify the killing and liquidation of prisoners through overt as well as secret and refined methods, constitute crimes of darkest dye which shock mankind's conscience and flout all principles of international law.

We earnestly call on the peoples and governments of all countries, the political and social organizations, the personalities in all spheres: lawyers, scientists, pressmen, cultural workers, all the public and peace-, justice- and humanity-loving people in the world to raise their voice and strongly condemn the Nixon-Nguyen Van Thieu clique's vicious schemes and savage crimes, demanding that they immediately end these crazy, fascist measures and acts, secure the life of, and release without delay, all the combatants and peace-loving patriots illegally arrested, tortured and detained by them in South Viet Nam.

Madame Ngo Ba Thanh, chairman of the Women's Movement for the Right to Live, prosecuted before Court by Thieu, in disregard of her serious illness during detention

in the cities

+ Parents of medical students who had been forced to undergo military training in Nha Trang lodged a protest with the US-Thieu regime against its scheme to rake up manpower and urged that the trainees be returned to school without delay.

+ In recent days, the Thieu gang has been carrying out the so-called "campus pacification program" with a series of fascist measures against students and pupils. In September 1972, it had to set free a number of those who had been arbitrarily arrested on condition that they report daily at their localities' police HQs.

In universities and colleges, the program for campus militarization now includes courses on "people's intelligence" so as to turn the students into mercenaries and police agents at the same time. The Saigon students and their professors and parents have spoken out against this wicked scheme.

+ Some 300 members of the Saigon Textile Dealers' Union have complained that they have had to pay up to 15 million piastres of annual taxes. The Thieu administration now forces them to pay so-called "Support Reconstruction" extra-taxes. Worse still, the Tax Bureau is asking them to pay arrears since 1969. Members of the said Union have come out against this taxation policy as textiles now find no outlets.

+ The Thieu authorities have banned the use of motorcycles by armymen and public and private emloyees to carry passengers during off-duty hours to earn extra-money. Hundreds of thousands of such people, who can hardly support their families because of Thieu's fascist economic measurer, have lashed at this move which seriously hits wage-earners and demanded its cancellation.

+ Since the beginning of October this year, Saigon police have conducted round-ups and indiscriminate arrests in all the 11 precincts of the city to impress troops and allegedly to "keep law and order".

According to the Saigon Police Directorate's own admission, 1,072 police operations were mounted in the first week of October during which nearly 500 draft resisters were arrested. Police also detained 1,200 people charged with "violations of the curfew." Those persons normally had to go about their work during the curfew hours.

+ On September 28, Saigon's Education Minister acknowledged that there was a leak of test papers and that the present state of education in Saigon was associated with the general social degeneration and crisis. That is why, in his view, the pupils' parents and the school youths themselves have lost confidence in the establishment's education system.

+ On October 14, Saigon's only English-language paper, the *Saigon Post*, was confiscated for having carried a foreign news dispatch quoting the spokesman for the DRVN Delegation to the Paris Conference as saying that the Nixon administration had obstructed all solutions as it was still bent on pursuing its policy of neo-colonialist aggression, and made a reference to South Viet Nam's neutrality. The publisher of this paper, Saigon's ex-ambassador in Washington, may have to face trial.

Three days later, Thieu's military tribunal sentenced Father Chan Tin, publisher of *Doi Dien* (Confrontation) magazine, to 5 years in exile with a 3-million-piastre fine. This was the 4th prison sentence pronounced against a Saigon paper publisher since Thieu's press law 007 was promulgated.

+ Major and small industries in Saigon and other South Viet Nam cities are experiencing a serious slump. According to preliminary statistics, by the end of September 1972, dye and print works' activity had been reduced 80 per cent. A number of factories had to close down because their products could not be sold. The reduction rate was from 80 to 95 per cent in spinning and knitting, and 70 per cent in the pharmaceutical, chemical and glass industries. In Cho Lon alone, 8 glass-ware work had to cease functioning. Establishments producing electric appliances and alluminium ware saw a cut of 90 per cent. Production of wood articles is facing total bankruptcy.

Traders and producers maintained that such a state of things had been caused by the administration's reactionary economic policy and fascist measures.

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO THE VIET NAM PROBLEM

(Continued from page 1)

ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam clearly explained its views on this subject. In his October 22, 1972 message, the President of the United States expressed satisfaction with the explanations given by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Thus by October 22, 1972, the formulation of the Agreement was complete.

The main issues of the Agreement which have been agreed upon may be summarized as follows:

1) The United States respects the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

2) Twenty-four hours after the signing of the Agreement, a cease-fire shall be observed throughout South Viet Nam. The United States will stop all its military activities, and end the bombing and mining in North Viet Nam. Within 60 days, there will be a total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of troops and military personnel of the United States and those of the foreign countries allied with the United States and with the Republic of Viet Nam. The two South Vietnamese parties shall not accept the introduction of troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material into South Viet Nam. The two South Vietnamese parties shall be permitted to make periodical replacements of armaments, munitions, and war material that have been worn out or damaged after the cease-fire, on the basis of piece for piece, of similar characteristics and properties. The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam.

3) The return of all captured and detained personnel of the Parties shall be carried out simultaneously with the US troop withdrawal.

4) The principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination are as follows: the South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Viet Nam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision; the United States is not committed to any political tendency or any personality in South Viet Nam, and it does not seek to impose a pro-American regime in Saigon; national reconciliation and concord will be achieved, the democratic liberties of the people, ensured; an administrative structure called the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments will be set up to promote the implementation of the signed agreements by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam and to organize the general elections, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at lower levels; the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the post-war situation; among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce the military numbers on both sides and to demobilize the troops being reduced; the two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Viet Nam as soon as possible and will do their utmost to accomplish this within three months after the cease-fire comes into effect.

5) The reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means.

6) There will be formed a Four-Party Joint Military Commission, and a Joint Military Commission of the two South Vietnamese parties.

An International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be established.

An International Guarantee Conference on Viet Nam will be convened within 30 days of the signing of this Agreement.

7) The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Government of the United States of America, and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam shall strictly respect the Cambodian and Lao peoples' fundamental national rights as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, i.e. the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of these countries. They shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam undertake to refrain from using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach on the sovereignty and security of other countries. Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Laos and Cambodia, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material.

The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.

The problems existing between the three Indochinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

8) The ending of the war, the restoration of peace in Viet Nam will create conditions for establishing a new, equal, and mutually beneficial relationship between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States. The United States will contribute to healing the wounds of war and to post-war reconstruction in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and throughout Indochina.

9) This Agreement shall come into force as of its signing. It will be strictly implemented by all the parties concerned.

The two Parties have also agreed on a schedule for the signing of the Agreement. On Oct. 9, 1972, at the proposal of the US side, it was agreed that on Oct. 18, 1972, the United States would stop the bombing and mining in North Viet Nam; on Oct. 19, 1972, the two Parties would initial the text of the Agreements in Hanoi; on Oct. 26, 1972, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries would formally sign the Agreement in Paris.

On Oct. 11, 1972, the US side proposed the following change to the schedule: on Oct. 21, 1972, the United States would stop the bombing and mining in North Viet Nam; on Oct. 22, 1972, the two Parties would initial the text of the Agreement in Hanoi; on Oct. 30, 1972, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries would formally sign the Agreement in Paris. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam agreed to the new US schedule.

On Oct. 20, 1972, under the pretext that there still remained a number of unagreed points, the US side again put forth another schedule: On Oct. 23, 1972, the United States would stop the bombing and mining in North Viet Nam; on Oct. 24, 1972, the two Parties would initial the text of the Agreement in Hanoi; on Oct. 31, 1972, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries would formally sign the Agreement in Paris. Despite the fact that the US side had changed many times what had been agreed upon, the DRVN side with its goodwill again agreed to the US proposal while stressing that the US side should not under any pretext change the agreed schedule.

Thus, by Oct. 22, 1972, the DRVN side and the US side had agreed both on the full text of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam" and on a schedule to be observed for the formal signing of the Agreement on Oct. 31, 1972. Obviously, the two sides had agreed upon an Agreement of extremely important significance, which meets the wishes of the peoples in Viet Nam, the United States and the world.

But on Oct. 23, 1972, contrary to its pledges, the US side again referred to difficulties in Saigon demanded that the negotiations be continued for resolving new problems, and did not say anything about the implementation of its commitments under the agreed schedule. This behaviour of the US side has brought about a very serious situation which risks to jeopardize the signing of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam."

The so-called difficulties in Saigon represent a mere pretext to delay the implementation of the US commitments, because it is public knowledge that the Saigon administration has been rigged up and fostered by the United States. With a mercenary army equipped and paid by the United States, this administration is a tool for carrying out the "Vietnamization" policy and the neo-colonialist policy of the United States in violation of the South Vietnamese people's national rights. It is an instrument for the United States to sabotage all peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

The above shows that the Nixon administration is not negotiating with a serious attitude and goodwill in order to end the war and restore peace in Viet Nam, all it is doing in fact is to drag out the talks so as to deceive public opinion and to cover up its scheme of maintaining the Saigon puppet administration for the purposes of continued war of aggression in Viet Nam and Indochina. The Nixon administration must bear before the people of the United States and the world responsibility for delaying the signing of the Agreement, and thus prolonging the war in Viet Nam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam deems it its duty to bring the present situation with respect to the private meetings between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States to the notice of our countrymen and fighters throughout the country, and the peoples in the world and the United States so that the truth may be known. This information is in the interest of peace and will in no way affect the negotiations, the two parties having agreed upon the text of the Agreement and the schedule for its signing. While pointing to the above situation, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam strictly holds to the undertaking between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States to the effect that no change should be brought to the agreed text of the Agreement, and that the date scheduled for its signing is October 31, 1972.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam strongly denounces the Nixon administration's lack of goodwill and seriousness. It firmly demands that the US government respond to its goodwill, keep its commitments, and sign on Oct. 31, 1972, the Agreements whose text has been agreed upon with a view to ending the war, restoring peace in Viet Nam, contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world, thus meeting the desire of the Vietnamese people, the American people and the peoples around the world.

Countrymen and fighters throughout the country.

We want peace in independence and freedom. We are animated with goodwill. But the US imperialists still nurture the design of conquering the southern part of our country, turning it into a new-type colony and a military base of the United States, and perpetuating the partition of our country. We had rather sacrifice everything than submit. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom!"

For the independence and freedom of our Fatherland, for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism in the world, we are fighting and defeating the US imperialist aggressors. Ours is a position of victory, of initiative, which is unceasingly improving. The position of the US imperialists and their lackeys is one of defeat, passivity and decline.

More than ever, our countrymen and fighters throughout the country are enhancing their resolve to unite as one man, to brave all hardships and sacrifices, to do their utmost to carry out President Ho Chi Minh's sacred Testament, to persist in, and step up the fight of the three fronts — military, political, and diplomatic, until these lofty objectives have been achieved: to liberate the South, to defend and build the socialist North, and to proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country. Our people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and inflict a total defeat on the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys.

Our people's patriotic struggle against US aggression is a just one. The strength of our unity is invincible. We have traditions of valiant and undaunted struggle against the aggressors. Moreover, our people enjoy the sympathy and great support of the fraternal socialist countries and the progressive people around the world.

We will win!

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam calls on the Governments and peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, of the peace- and justice-loving countries, the international organizations, the American people, and the peoples around the world, which have been wholeheartedly supporting the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against US aggression, to wage a resolute struggle to urge the US Government to carry out immediately what has been agreed upon between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam so as to rapidly end the war and restore peace in Viet Nam. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam calls on all brothers and friends around the five continents to extend even stronger support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's just struggle until total victory.

The Vietnamese people will win!

The three peoples of Indochina will win!

Hanoi, October 26, 1972

STATEMENT OF THE RSVN PRG

...Concurring with the efforts of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has done all it possibly could to bring on the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam issue.

In agreement with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, taking a momentous initiative at its private meeting with the United States on October 8, 1972 put forward a draft "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam." This initiative brought the negotiations from an impasse onto the path of a settlement. And as the October 26, 1972 statement of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam pointed out, with the very great efforts of the DRVN, by October 22, 1972, the full text of the Agreement had been completed. If the United States abides by what has been agreed upon, then the Agreement will be signed on October 31, and 24 hours later, a cease fire will be effected and peace will be restored in Viet Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam deems that the formulation of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam" fits in with the stand persistently expressed by the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam at the conference table with regard to a settlement. The Agreement responds satisfactorily to the two basic demands set forth in the September 11, 1972 Statement of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Under the Agreement, the United States shall end completely its military involvement in Viet Nam, respect the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination. On that basis and proceeding from the reality that there are in South Viet Nam two administrations, two armies and other political forces, the South Vietnamese people shall settle their internal affairs in the spirit of reconciliation and national concord, equality and mutual respect. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, placing the nation's interests above all else and holding high the spirit of national concord, has agreed to consult with the present Saigon administration. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is convinced that after the end of US military involvement and the restoration of peace, if the South Viet Nam parties strictly abide by the principles laid down in the Agreement, then there will be enough favorable conditions to do away enmity, build up solidarity, heal the wounds of war, and bring South Viet Nam into a period of lasting stability.

On October 23, 1972, however, the US Government unexpectedly referred to "difficulties in Saigon" and other senseless pretexts, raised the question of changing the text of the Accord which had already been agreed upon, and did not materialize the schedule set by the two sides. All along its negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the US side repeatedly took one pretext after another and ceaselessly altered what had been agreed upon. The double-dealing of the US has brought about an extremely serious situation which jeopardizes the signing of the Agreement and drives back the opportunity to restore peace in Viet Nam.

The so-called "difficulties in Saigon" pretexted by the US cannot stand. Everybody knows that all the Saigon administrations from Ngo Dinh Diem to Nguyen Van Thieu are products of the US policy of neo-colonialism, have been rigged up by the US, depend on the US in all respects, act upon US orders. The Nguyen Van Thieu administration clamors for war, obdurately clings to its "Four *No*" stand, brutally cracks down on all tendencies to peace, independence, democracy and national concord, and opposes all fair and reasonable political settlement. Obviously, the Saigon regime is an instrument of the US to drag on the negotiations with a view to smoke-screening the fact that the US is obdurately prolonging its aggressive war and materializing its neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam fully supports the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam's stand expounded in its October 26, 1972 statement on "the present state of the negotiations relating to the Viet Nam problem." The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam sternly condemns the lack of seriousness and goodwill of the US in the negotiations, sternly condemns the Nixon administration's scheme to drag out the talks so as to deceive the American people, and deceive public opinion in the world in a bid to maintain the Saigon puppet administration as an instrument to continue and prolong the war of aggression in Viet Nam and in Indochina.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam firmly demands that the US Government respond seriously to the DRVN Government's goodwill, respond seriously to the aspiration for peace and independence of the Vietnamese people, and the desire for peace of the American nation, and the other peoples in the world, and carry out correctly all its commitments, so that the agreed-on Accord may be signed on October 31, 1972, with a view to ending the war, restoring peace in Viet Nam, and contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the world. Should the Nixon administration deliberately delay the signing of the Agreement, thereby causing the war to drag on, then it would have to bear the full responsibility.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam solemnly declares: The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will thoroughly respect and seriously carry out this Agreement if it is signed, the armed forces under its power will seriously carry out the cease-fire order and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will immediately hold consultations with the Saigon administration to settle together the internal problems of South Viet Nam in the spirit of equality, mutual respect, non-mutual elimination, eradication of enmity, and materialization of national reconciliation and concord.

The South Viet Nam people and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam earnestly calls on all the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, of peace- and justice-loving countries, all international organizations and the world people to resolutely demand that the US Government strictly carry out all the commitments agreed upon and sign the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam" on October 31, 1972 as scheduled, and give stronger support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the peace, independence and freedom of Viet Nam, and for the peace, independence and freedom of other nations in the world.

The South Viet Nam people and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam earnestly calls on the American people to demand still more strongly, for the sake of peace and justice, of the honor and legitimate interests of the United States, and for the sake of friendship between them and the Vietnamese people, that the US Government abide by all its commitments, carry out immediately its promise to end the war, and to end the US involvement in Viet Nam. This is a good opportunity for the United States to get out of Viet Nam in honor, to bring home all US troops, including captured armymen, and to usher in a new period in the relations between the United States and Viet Nam.

Dear countrymen and combatants in South Viet Nam.

For a quarter-century now, living up to their oath — "Rather sacrifice all than lose our country and be slaves" — our compatriots and combatants, united and of one mind, have heroically risen up to save country and homes, and have recorded extremely glorious victories.

Having gone through untold hardships and sacrifices, and standing in the van of the fight against brutal US aggression, more than any one else we cherish peace, genuine peace in independence and freedom. We have shown all our goodwill to put an end to the war, restore peace in Viet Nam, erase enmity, and bring about national concord in South Viet Nam so as together to heal the wounds of war, rebuild South Viet Nam, and build a new life, with unity, mutual love, plenty and happiness.

However, the US imperialists have not yet abandoned their aggressive design and still are dreaming of a military victory in a bid to materialize their neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam and prolong the partition of our country.

Let all our compatriots and combatants in South Viet Nam uphold their determination, enhance the nation's tradition of perseverance and undauntedness, develop to high degree their revolutionary heroism, attack the enemy without let-up and rise up everywhere, to smash all US-Thieu military ventures, completely foil the policy of "Vietnamizing the war," win yet bigger victories, and dash forward to win total victory. Let our countrymen and combatants in the South, together with their Northern compatriots, and the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples, resolutely defeat the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges, and defeat the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina, for the sake of peace, independence and freedom of each country.

President Ho Chi Minh's teaching that "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" forever echoes in our hearts. Living up to his sacred Testament, together with our compatriots across the country, we are unanimously resolved to overcome all hardships and sacrifices, persist in and step up our fight, so as to fulfil the glorious historic mission entrusted us by our nation: to completely defeat the US aggressors.

Our people's cause of anti-US fight for national salvation is radiating justice. The Vietnamese people are a heroic nation, a powerful force. We are enjoying the sympathy, enormous support and love of all progressive mankind.

Our people will win!

South Viet Nam, October 28, 1972

HISTORIC EXPLOIT:

THE 4,000th US PLANE SHOT DOWN

A chunk of the F.111 swing-wing plane bearing the emblem of the US Tactical Air Command

SOUTH VIET NAM LEADERS GREET NORTH VIET NAM'S EXPLOIT

President **Nguyen Huu Tho** and President **Huynh Tan Phat** in a joint message on October 18, 1972, extended their warmest greetings to President **Ton Duc Thang**, Chairman **Truong Chinh** and Premier **Pham Van Dong** on the occasion of the shooting down of the 4,000th US plane in North Viet Nam.

After welcoming the splendid exploits of the North Viet Nam armed forces and people achieved during the past 6 months against the US Air Force, the message reads in excerpts as follows :

" In the sacred war for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland, our people in both South and North are going through hard trials and fierce battles. But under the correct and creative revolutionary direction, with the warm patriotism and unshakable determination to fight and to win, our 40 million people in the South and the North, fighting side by side and with the same will, and with the close co-ordination and militant solidarity of the brotherly Cambodian and Lao peoples, the support and precious assistance from all friends in the world, have braved all difficulties and hardships and scored tremendous victories.

" As long as the US pursues its aggression in South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people will resolutely fight against this aggression. So long as the US pursues its " Vietnamization of the war " policy, the South Vietnamese people are resolved to frustrate it and the neo-colonialist policy of the US.

" All our people and combatants in the South pledge to their blood-sealed compatriots and combatants in the North to best fulfil in all circumstances the duty assigned them by the nation, to persist in and step up their fight and obtain at all costs their objectives, namely to build South Viet Nam into an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous area, advancing toward the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland. "

Defence Minister **Tran Nam Trung** also sent on this occasion his best congratulations to General **Vo Nguyen Giap**, Vice-Premier and Defence Minister of the DRVN.

" THE socialist North Viet Nam is defeating ... the enemy in his new military adventure, the war of destruction of Nixon. In addition to the 203 US aircraft downed during the various provocative flights in 1969 and the first three months of 1972, it has, in the past six months, shot down 554 more US war planes including B.52's and F.111's, the most up-to-date kind of jets freshly introduced into the war. Besides, US warships have been sunk or set afire on 86 more occasions, and hundreds of more US pilots have been killed or captured.

The communiqué said that the resounding victory of the armed forces and people of North Viet Nam in downing 4,000 US aircraft and killing or taking prisoner thousands of US pilots, thus breaking the US air and naval war, is of very great strategic significance.

By destroying an important part of the USAF and USN, the two strongest arms of US imperialism, we have reduced the United States military strength in general and its air power in particular, thus shattering the image of US imperialism and the myth about its military might in the world.

What is most important is that the armed forces and people of North Viet Nam have thwarted the main strategic measure of US imperialism in its war of aggression in Viet Nam, which is also the strength of the " Nixon doctrine," that is to say the use of air and naval forces as a decisive force on the battlefield, and the trump card for intimidation to cow the adversary and save itself from a desperate situation. Yet, reality on the battlefield has fully proved that there is a limit to the air and naval power of the United States.

(Excerpt from the Communiqué of the High Command of Viet Nam People's Army)

The 4,000th jet's fate

IT was only a few minutes past mid-night on Oct. 17. The inhabitants of village T., Vinh Phu province, was fast asleep (except of course the militia on guard duty). Suddenly there came the rumble of anti-aircraft guns from afar, followed by the familiar machinegun fire of militia. The hissing of a jet plane, then an earth-shaking explosion and a huge column of fire shot up from the field of Dan Quan. The blaze was so intense that it illuminated the village.

That was the 4,000th US plane shot down in North Viet Nam. It crashed in pieces on a flooded rice paddy. The explosion of the bombs and rockets carried by the plane shattered it into smithereens, dug a gaping crater and flung mud and earth to make a fairly high causeway around the hole. Debris of the plane were thrown as far as 300 metres away to the other bank of the Ca Lo river. The militia gathered many of these debris, the smallest the size of a hand and the largest the size of a sleeping plank.

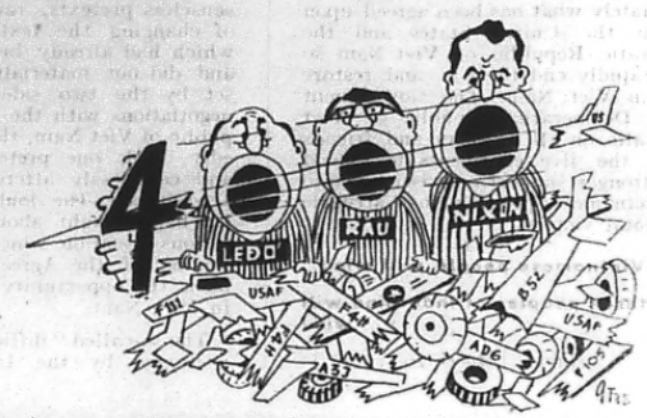
The markings "USAF" and "LOS ANGELES" are still visible on many fragments. On a big debris of the tail part, there is an emblem featuring a sword and a spread eagle. Beneath is the inscription " Tactical Air Command. " Another fragment is the remain of a fuel container with description of its capacity : 400 gallons. At the mouth of the container, right beside the instruction on the way of refuelling, there are the words SEE T.O. 1F 111A — 2 — 1 — FOR.

This is another swing-wing F.111 plane shot down over North Viet Nam, one of the most versatile, most up-to-date and also costliest of the USAF, according to Pentagon boasts.

The identity of the plane is further evidenced by the papers found in the debris. In fact, there is a fairly thick manual with each page carefully protected by a transparent sheet of plastic on top of which are inscribed these words : T.O. 1F 111A 34-1-1CL. The " practice rocket firing and bombing " is given on the 23rd page. Another page gives the instruction on how to operate the signal lighting on the plane and on another page, the way of ejecting from the plane.

The two US pilots were mangled as badly as their craft. Their identity cards floated on a flooded field.

They are Captain Hockridge James Alan, and Captain Graham Allen Upton, a giant of almost seven feet and 185 pounds.



The trio for the US air war over North Viet Nam (Nixon, Rogers, Laird)

The reaction of man's conscience

NIXON has refined methods to commit crimes. He no longer shows his teeth like other imperialist warmongers, as he used to in the 50's. He talks about peace as much as anyone else on this planet. He apparently wants a *détente* with this and more trade with that country. He even deals with moral matters, and he even looked deeply moved over the suffering of a girl victim of fascist brutality. Let us listen to what one of his fellow-citizens say of his protestations of peace and friendship. Speaking on October 10 in Copenhagen, at the third meeting of the International Commission of Inquiry into US War Crimes, former senator Ernest Grüening stated:

Just a few days ago Nixon said that the world should unite so that nobody would feel afraid any longer, but at that very moment the *New York Times* denounced that every day the United States dropped one does not know how many bombs. As many as 14,000,000 tons of bombs were dumped on Viet Nam and Indochina. We have not seen worse atrocity. This has not been taking place for days but for months, for years. We should make the American and world's peoples aware of that fact, and do so that they cannot remain indifferent to it.

Mr Grüening was right. Crime is crime even if camouflaged under an olive branch, and the thicker the camouflage the more imperative the need to take it off. Nixon's odious crimes have been shocking human conscience in all continents.

"Viet Nam... massacre!
Laos... massacre!
Cambodia... massacre!

Nixon, your hands are stained with enough blood!"

Those angry outbursts have been resounding throughout Paris on October 15.

Day after day Japanese have been fighting against the US using their territory in its aggressive war in Viet Nam — a patient and hard fight that came to a climax with the action of tens of thousands of men and women against the sending of Viet Nam-bound American tanks from Japan. Voicing its solidarity, Japan's Central Council of Trade Unions emphasized: "We, Japanese workers, have never ceased struggling shoulder to shoulder with all peace-loving segments of our country not only against the phoney treaty for the return of Okinawa and the Japan-US Security Pact, but also against the US aggressive war in Viet Nam and the other Indochinese countries. We have chosen every 21st day of month as the Solidarity-day with the Vietnamese people in struggle."

In Britain the picketing by Londoners of the American Embassy has entered its 27th week, and will end only if the US answers positively the PRG seven points and stop the war.

It is impossible to list all words and deeds aroused by the US criminal policy in Viet Nam and Indochina. We should not however omit the mounting drive over the past days of honest Americans. Thousands of them demonstrated in San Francisco, New York and many other cities for a halt to the bombing and an end to the war. At each of their attempts to sell their peace ploy, Nixon and his close collaborators have bumped into loud protesters. Hundreds of Americans are under detention for having courageously come out against their government's war in Viet Nam. Angela Davis said last September: On July 4, 1972, when I left the United States, free from the hands of those who had arrested me, thousands of my brothers and sisters continued to be kept within prison walls. One of the most important fights that we have to wage for the sake of political prisoners in the Unite States is for the release of Billy Dean Smith. He is an American serviceman accused of the murder of two US white officers in Viet Nam, in fact his only crime is to oppose, to refuse to take up arms and kill human beings, to kill Vietnamese women and children.

"Billy Dean Smith is a symbol," Prime Minister Fidel Castro said, and all honest people agreed with him when he added: "Let us hold high this standard of the US progressive movement. Let us start disseminating the news of this new crime in the world. Let us regard as our duty this propagation and a support drive in the progressive movement, among our friends throughout the world."

There are other symbols, those of crime. Like Nixon's release of the Son My murderer — William Calley — his ordering the unleashing of "smart bombs" on urban centres and dykes in the DRVN, his large-scale slaughter of South Vietnamese through "Vietnamization," and his scheme to harm so many honest Americans.

For Viet Nam and over the struggle of the Vietnamese people, another struggle wider in size, is being staged between criminal forces and the forces representative of man's conscience. No crime can be let pass with impunity.

LE MINH

A cheeky client

Spurred by Nixon's fielding his wife and daughters in the campaign against McGovern, Thieu thought advisable to do his bit in it by having Saigon Radio describe the Democratic candidate as a madman elegible for a lunatic asylum (*AP*, October 8, 1972).

Instead of cheers from his supreme boss, he got a rap on the knuckles from Proconsul Bunker. The same agency on the same day commented that it was the second time in a month that the US Embassy protested against the Saigon government's criticisms of Senator McGovern.

There is no doubt about Bunker's allegiance to Nixon but who does Thieu think he is? Though a political rival of the incumbent US President, the South Dakotan is first of all an American. Thieu, however pampered he may be by his present protector, should notforget that he was only a sergent in the pay of the French colonialists and, consequently, should be aware of his position as a hired servant and not lash out at a boss of the "Metropolis." Servants must know their place and there are equals only among masters.

Utility and valour

During the overrunning of Pleikan by the PLAF on October 12, 1972, *UPI* reported three days later, the surviving defenders of the base fleeing in the direction of Pleiku with their adversary close upon their heels, had to signal in US choppers. But these roared in only to pick up the... able-bodied. For, understandably enough, they can eventually serve as cannon fodder elsewhere. But not all could be evacuated and some 18 were left to fend for themselves. Again it was easy to understand. The adverse ground fire was too dense for the US "advisers" to take too much risk.

But what about the wounded? Never mind. On more than one battlefield of South Viet Nam, and right in the High Plateaux themselves, they have been taken care of with a few napalm bombs which are so convenient for the job of putting an end to their atrocious sufferings and wiping out all traces of shame.

Buffooneries

The slapstick antics of clowns which intersperse acrobats' feats or animals' performances are sometimes a pleasant change from the usual suspense or tension, on condition that they are funny.

The Goliath versus David confrontation in Viet Nam has had some successful intermezzi.

Soon after the bombing of the heart of Hanoi was reported by Western press agencies on October 11, 1972, US officials in Washington reacted with embarrassment to the news. The Pentagon and State Department were supposed to know nothing about it (*AFP*, October 11, 1972). So was Colonel Bernard Rhees, spokesman of the US Command in Saigon (*AFP*, the same day). John Vogt Jr, a USAF major, was also taken unawares and promised to open an investigation. They declared however that the American flyers might have aimed at "targets on the other bank of the Red River about three miles from the seat of the French Delegation" (*Reuter*, October 11, 1972). Laird also chimed in, saying that non-military objectives and Hanoi populated districts were not what the US Air Force was after (*UPI*, October 11). It was intimated that the damage to the French mission migh have been caused by misguided North Viet Nam missiles (*Reuter*, October 12).

Unfortunately, bomb splinters collected from the rubble bore US marking and to make the matter even worse, whole unexploded bomb of the same size was found nearby.

Naturally, it was a bit hard on Laird and his colleagues. To hide his confusion, once more he rattled his sabre by saying that the US was intended to carry on the bombing of North Viet Nam even at the risk of similar incidents.

And thus the farce came to a flop.

And so on and so forth

Amidst universal outcries, there was no other alternative for the Yankees than to face facts. The State Department came forward with this announcement full of its customary caution, which laid the blame for the bombing of the French diplomatic headquarters on a technical failure (*AP*, October 20).

Whether it was chance or deliberateness, only God and the USAF pilots involved in the strike know.

But Peter Arnett has been told by Captain Hoffman, a guest of "Hanoi Hilton", that he thought his life was more in danger from US planes than from the North Vietnamese (*UPI*, October 5).

Error of judgment or technical failure? A relevant answer has been supplied by a Canadian TV reporter who asserted that he had clearly seen two US planes dive and drop a cluster of bombs on Hanoi "diplomatic quarter."

HUONG NAM

The United States must bear civil responsibility for the damage to life and property resulting from the destruction it has caused in Indochina

THE International Commission of Inquiry into US War Crimes in Indochina held its third session from October 10 to 16, 1972 at the Rigsdag of the Kingdom of Denmark, reports from Copenhagen said.

The Conference was attended, beside the delegations of North and South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, by over 200 delegates from Denmark and from about 40 other countries such as US, France, Japan, Norway, Finland, Morocco, West Germany..., including politicians, MPs, scientists, intellectuals and witnesses. Danish Premier Anker Joergensen was present at the inaugural meeting. Also attending were Danish and foreign pressmen, news agency and TV correspondents.

The Conference heard greetings from DRVN Premier Pham Van Dong, RSVN PRG President Huynh Tan Phat, the Lao Patriotic Front Central Committee Chairman Prince Souphanouvong and the Chairman of the National Unified Front of Kampuchea Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk. After the statement of the Conference's aim by Professor Joachim Israel, Chairman of the Conference's Preparatory Committee and Chairman of the "Viet Nam Committee 69," the Danish P.M. read out his greetings to the conference and reiterated his Government's condemnation of US bombings and strafings. He stressed that only a political solution respecting the Vietnamese people's right to decide their own political future could bring lasting peace.

Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Chairman of the International Commission of Inquiry into US War Crimes in Indochina, delivered a speech emphasizing that the Commission's task in this meeting was to "substantiate the facts and consider them in the light of international law." He strongly denounced the US atrocious aggression and expressed his admiration for the Vietnamese people's fighting spirit. Earlier, in a press conference he had pointed out: The Commission's Third session will, in the light of international law, consider and denounce all the very serious US crimes in the Indochinese countries. The conference this time wants to tell the American people what to do to end the Viet Nam war and warn the US government that it cannot use violence to create danger to the world."

At the same press conference, US Senator Ernest Gruening (of the US delegation) said: Formerly Johnson resorted to deception, now Nixon is doing the same. 4 years ago, when running for president, he promised to end the war once elected. Now though a number of GIs have been brought home, Nixon has charged Viet Nam with aggression to prolong the war. We think that the US has nothing to do in Southeast Asia, and as for the Vietnamese people, they only desire independence and freedom as the Americans did 200 years ago. For thousands of years, the Vietnamese people have been waging anti-aggression wars simply because they are attached to independence... The present US Viet Nam policy is stupid.

On the following days, the Commission heard reports and testimonies made by the Indochinese people's delegations, victims of US raids in Indochina, physicians or social activists and scholars of the US, France, Japan, Soviet Union..., on the US murderous manoeuvres and acts and barbarous tortures, on the US war policy and technique, on the use of US weapons and their effects on human lives and the environment in the genocidal war in Viet Nam and Indochina.

On October 14, several delegates to the conference took part in an anti-US parade by 6,000 Copenhagenese in front of the US Embassy. Many representatives of Danish deputations and mass organizations came out strongly against the US aggressive war in Indochina. American war veteran Steve Hawkins shouted: "We will tide over difficulties, the (South Viet Nam) NFL will win!"

On October 16, the session wound up after approving a statement and a program of action in the period to come of the International Commission of Inquiry into US War Crimes in Indochina.

The Statement said:

"...THE United States has a long history of wanton, indiscriminate and massive destruction in Indochina. However, the evidence presented to the International Commission has confirmed the fact of the tremendous escalation of the US war since the beginning of President Nixon's administration, and especially during 1972. According to official US sources, between January 1969 and Summer 1972 alone—that is, before the most recent further intensification of the bombings—more than 3,7 million tons of bombs have been dropped in Indochina.

Thus the most urgent matter in Indochina is ever more horrible destruction caused by US airpower. Since April of this year B.52 carpet bombing raids have reached an unprecedented scale and the use of anti-personnel bombs has been highly intensified. In its policy of destruction the United States has now employed new, refined instruments and techniques which make its warfare more indiscriminate and dehumanized than ever before. This includes, for example, large-scale computerized bombings activated by sensory detection devices which are incapable of distinguishing between civilians and military objects.

The attacks on the water conservancy system of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the blockade of ports constitute other extremely grave features of US warfare under the Nixon administration. Careful investigations on the spot by a team of the Commission and by other impartial observers have clearly shown that the water conservancy and irrigation systems has been deliberately bombed.

Entire cities in the DRVN such as Ninh Binh have been totally wiped out. In South Viet Nam, the bombing of Quang Tri alone has matched the tonnage dropped on Hiroshima several times over. Many thousands of civilians including children, have been burned to death or condemned to be lifelong cripples. Hospitals, schools, churches, pagodas and cultural centers have been deliberately destroyed.

In open violation of the Hague and Geneva Conventions, US pilots have been instructed by the US Air Force as follows: "Military target includes every person, locality, thing, idea, or place chosen to be destroyed, made inactive or unusable through the use of weapons which destroy or reduce the enemy's will to resist..."

The United States policy of "Vietnamization" is merely a change in strategy of US aggression in Indochina. It prolongs the war in a most devious and abhorrent manner by reducing the US casualties, but by no means ending them and forcing Asians to fight Asians. Its vain character is proved by the replacement of US land warfare by massive air warfare which is unprecedented in history. "Vietnamization" is thus revealed as a policy of deception, which has turned lying into a science.

Since the Commission last met, the attempts to carry out the so-called "pacification program" have also been intensified. In South Viet Nam the arbitrary terrorism of the Thieu regime has made a mockery of due process and constitutional law. Legal procedures have been abolished permitting the imposition of the death penalty by executive decree.

Opposition of any kind, be it Catholic or Buddhist, liberal or neutralist, especially among the young, is crushed through arrests, torture and assassination. From January 1969 to Summer 1972, 40,000 civilians in South Viet Nam were executed without trial under the "Phoenix" program. At least 200,000 political prisoners are kept incarcerated, including many persons prominent in the third force, whom Thieu has threatened with extermination for this very reason.

By their cumulative effects, the various aspects of the US conduct of the war strike at the very roots of the physical, economic and social existence of the people, imperiling millions of innocent persons and threatening both the present and the future human environment of the region with ecocidal effects, thereby constituting the paramount crime of genocide.

The responsibility of the policies and acts described above is clear. The Geneva Conventions of 1949 demand that each party enact any legislation necessary to provide effective penal sanctions for persons committing or ordering to be committed any of the grave breaches... The United States has not lived up to its obligation as a party to these conventions, to take "effective" action to punish US war criminals, but has on the contrary, as the evidence obtained by this Commission indicates more than ever, engaged in policies that involve systematic war crimes.

A voluminous literature published in the United States, as well as testimony and official United States documents placed at the disposal of the Commission, reveal that highest officials of the United States government have had full knowledge of such crimes as massacres, terrorism, torture, and unlawful imprisonment. Hence there can be no excuse of ignorance on their part for those atrocities, whether committed by United States forces or by their allied and mercenary forces.

The responsibility for the aggression and for genocide, as well as for such war crimes as indiscriminate mass bombing and the use of illegal weapons, rests primarily with the leaders of the US government and the US military command directly and without mitigation.

These crimes would not have been possible without the support and participation of the military industrial complex, the leaders of which must bear grave responsibility.

The scientific community must also be held morally accountable for allowing its work to be used for criminal purposes.

Governments which provide mercenaries and bases to the United States for its war in Indochina cannot avoid their responsibility. Furthermore the United States must bear civil responsibility for the damage to life and property resulting from the destruction it has caused in Indochina. The right of the victims to obtain "compensation" for "all" violations of the law of war is guaranteed in the Hague regulations 4 of 1907. Although the United States can never rectify the sufferings it has caused, it must make full reparations to all the nations of Indochina.

International law and morality require respect for the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination. Furthermore, the fundamental national right of the Indochinese peoples to independence and noninterference was guaranteed in the Geneva Agreements of 1954. The prohibition of the illegal war is a cornerstone of world order. Therefore the obligation of the United States to stop its war of aggression is indisputable and years overdue. It is the absolute legal and moral duty of the United States, without any delay whatsoever, to withdraw all its ground, air and naval forces from the Indochinese area including Thailand and to withdraw all forces of support to the client regimes in South Viet Nam and Cambodia.

The International Commission appeals urgently and solemnly to all peoples, to all governments, to all individuals and all organizations of the world to make the greatest possible effort to stop the US war and to support the long-standing proposals of the Indochinese peoples for peace and self-determination, again expressed in September 1972 at the Paris conference by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam. These proposals are in full agreement with international law and morality."